WRL NEWS

NUMBER 194 THE WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE MAY-JUNE 1976

WAS WRL '69 BURGLARY AN FBI JOB?

Last June, when the **Daily News** broke a story headed "CIA Burglaries in NYC Bared" and established "a clear link between the CIA and the New York City police department," WRL asked Mayor Beame to reopen the investigation into burglarization of its offices on May 9, 1969.

The same demand was presented to Mayor Beame on March 30, the day after disclosure that the FBI had burglarized offices of the Socialist Workers Party in New York 92 times within six years (1960-1966). Representing WRL, Jim Peck, who himself has a damage suit pending against the FBI, joined a deputation to City Hall initiated by the SWP to get a fullscale investigation of the apparent collusion between the New York City police department and the FBI in these political burglarizations. He delivered to the mayor a letter from WRL Chairwoman Irma Zigas pointing out that the still unsolved 1969 burglarization "could have been only political, since the only thing stolen was our membership files (both cards and address stencils)."

About a month after WRL appealed to Beame last June, two police officials came to 339 Lafayette to ask more questions about the '69 burglary. Nothing further came of it.

TWO MASS DEMOS ON JULY 4

In Philadelphia—"For a Bicentennial without colonies; freedom for all oppressed nations; for full democracy and equality; for jobs and a decent standard of living." —Sponsored by July 4th Coalition, of which WRL is a part.

In Washington—"Declare your independence from Big Business!" —Sponsored by Peoples Bicentennial Commission.

SOUTHERN WALK HITS THE ROAD

by Jim Peck

Left to right in front: Rev. Bernard Lee, southern coordinator of the Continental Walk for SCLC; Jim Dombrowski, longtime civil rights activist in the south; Rep. Avery Alexander, New Orleans member of the State Legislature; Jim Peck, veteran of the Freedom Rides; Hiroshi Sera, Buddhist monk from Japan; Dr. Samuel Cook, president of Dillard University; Anne Braden, coordinator of Southern Organizing Committee; Rev. S.C. Harvey, New Orleans leader of SCLC; Rev. T. Crockett of SCLC and Ed Hedemann, national Walk coordinator for WRL.

It took off from Dillard University, New Orleans, on April 4, 10:30 a.m. with about 70 walkers. Fortunately, for the publicity, the University president, Dr. Samuel Cook, walked up-front. Ralph Abernathy failed to show, either that morning or the previous afternoon for the kickoff rally in Shakespeare Park. Nor did Representative Conyers, slated as the main speaker, appear for the rally.

We walked 2½ hours, to the outskirts of the city, where we knocked off for the day because many of the starting contingent were high school students and had to get back to their classes. Those of us who were continuing rode by car to Kenner, starting point for the second lap.

The start of the walk got good publicity in both daily papers and coverage on two major TV news programs that evening.

Next morning at 11:45, we set off from Kenner with a total of 12. Among us were Bernard Lee, chief organizer of

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southern walk, Rev. S.C. Harvey, head of SCLC in New Orleans, Fred Taylor, SCLC director of chapters, Leon Wells, a blind, longtime activist from Mississippi. And—Hiroshi Sera, Buddhist monk from Japan and only walker committed to go all the way from New Orleans to Washington.

We had proceeded only a mile when confronted by the Kenner police, who halted us and threatened a bust if we continued along the highway. While Bernard Lee negotiated, we sang the freedom song "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Round." The Kenner police didn't. After a checking-out by phone, they let us go on.

The lap ended with a moving scene—on the lawn of the home of Gary Tyler (in St. Rose), black frameup victim on death row in Angola prison and seeking a new trial. We, walkers, and Gary's mother stood in a circle singing "We Shall Overcome." Then, unexpectedly, a black state trooper, who had been escorting the walk since the incident with the Kenner police, gave a little talk in which he asserted that he is on our side, that he, himself, had participated in freedom marches. He received enthusiastic applause. I learned later that he was the first black to obtain employment as a state trooper in Louisiana.

On the third day, St. Rose to LaPlace, our ranks were reduced to 7. But we made up for the small participation by singing freedom songs most of the way. Freedom walkers still sing freedom songs in the south—just like it was in the 60's.

Upon reaching LaPlace, we held a spontaneous rally in the black community. At first, complete apathy seemed to prevail. But, thanks to the enthusiasm of Fred Taylor and our freedom singing, the spirits rose and more people gathered, seemingly from nowhere. Rep. Avery Alexander, a black state legislator from New Orleans, joined us in speaking.

At this juncture, the Walk was suspended for a 2-week period for recruitment and nonviolent training sessions. I returned to New York. The Walk resumed in Baton Rouge, 150 strong.

Twenty-five miles northward, at St. Francisville, all 25 who were participating at that point, were teargassed and arrested by the parish sheriff and charged with "disruption of the flow of traffic." The sheriff was overheard saying that he didn't like "these outsiders coming in to stir up our niggers." All 25 were released next day in their own recognizance with trial set for September.

The walkers are now proceeding across the state of Mississippi. I hope to rejoin them as they approach Birmingham, Alabama, where I was beaten almost to death by a Klan mob 15 years ago on the Freedom Rides, and where I shall speak at a Walk rally. As I did at the opening rally in New Orleans, I'll point out that, in a sense, the southern Walk of 1976 is a continuation of the Freedom Rides of 1961.

Published by War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012, U.S. branch of the War Resisters' International, a pacifist organization with affiliates in 20 countries and individuals in more than 80 countries. Staff—Karl Bissinger, Ralph DiGia, Ed Hedemann, Grace Hedemann, David McReynolds, Editor—Jim Peck. Printed by The Print Shop, a Movement shop.

WRL STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The War Resisters League affirms that war is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive nonviolently for the removal of all the causes of war.

☐ I support this statement and wish to enroll as a member of the WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE.

signature

address

city

state zip code

Send to War Resisters League
339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012

DEATH AND (WAR) TAXES

Of the many demos which occurred this April 15 at IRS headquarters throughout the U.S., perhaps the most gloomy was this vigil in Honolulu where shrouded death-figures dramatize the end-result of war taxes. The vigil was conducted by Catholic Action/WRL and AFSC.

PEACEMAKER ORIENTATION PROGRAMS

June 19-July 4, Woolman Hill, Deerfield, Mass.

June 17-Aug. 1, Big Creek Farm, Harriet, Ark.

For details, write Veronica Mongin, 613 Adams, Evansville, Ind. 47713.

NEW LITERATURE

PEACEMAKING. A guide to conflict resolution for individuals, groups and nations. Edited by Barbara Stanford, it includes articles by Cesar Chavez, Martin Luther King Jr., Gene Sharp, George Lakey, etc. 499 pp.....$1.95

MOVING TOWARD A NEW SOCIETY. Movement for a New Society's book "about the ills of today's society and how we might move toward a new one." 296 pp.....$3.50

REPORT ON PEACE RESEARCHERS CONFERENCE. Organized last summer in the Netherlands by Beverly Woodward, member of WRL national committee, the conference included eight workshops on themes such as training for nonviolence, liberation movements—violent and nonviolent, sexism, rural revitalization, etc. $1

Borrowing a Lesson from Vietnam:

WALKING TOWARD SOCIAL REVOLUTION

by David McReynolds

THE WALK LEAVES PHOENIX–HEADING EAST

Among the walkers in this photo (sorry we can't identify all by name) are Jim Ellig, Joe Gerson, Bill Hughes, Walter Boyle, Merrill Ferris.

Preface: The Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice has been on the road more than three months. A major Southern route began in New Orleans April 4. Having twice joined the Walk–for a few days in Los Angeles and a few days in Arizona–it would be tempting to give a news report on the Walk but I think some discussion of the goals of the Walk is needed and so I have turned from a news account to an analysis.

Few things are as tragic as the "ideological poverty" of American radicals. Whether we are pacifists or non-pacifists, we seem to borrow the details but never the main concepts from the great movements for social change. The New Left copied slogans from Che and Mao and Lenin, and we pacifists use terms like "Ahimsa" and "Satygraha." Almost always we miss the **essence**, the fact that movements of profound and revolutionary change are rooted in their own cultures. Ghandi built his movement at the village level, stressing constructive work more than protest actions. Ho Chi Minh did not rush through the streets of Hanoi chanting Maoist slogans but built a political program based on–and meeting the needs of–the Vietnamese peasants.

That is, paradoxically, one lesson we most need to learn from Vietnam–to turn toward the values, traditions, and culture of our own country. There is another fundamental lesson Vietnam can teach us. Patience. We have a right, after our ten years' involvement in Vietnam, to learn at least one **important** thing from Vietnam, one thing which is not a slogan, or a detail. And this the Vietnamese owe us, for Ho Chi Minh borrowed freely from our own Declaration of Independence when, in 1946, he launched upon a 29 year struggle to free Vietnam from all foreign domination. This is a good time to learn this lesson of patience, this year, the 200th anniversary of our own partially achieved Revolution, the first anniversary of the liberation of Vietnam.

How does patience relate to the Continental Walk? America is the land which has as its unofficial national motto: "The difficult we do at once, the impossible takes a little longer." We are a people who never walk if we can run, never run if we can ride, never ride if we can jet. We are an impatient people. The rise of the Weatherunderground and the SLA was based on the "failure" of peaceful mass action to achieve "immediate" changes in American policy at home or abroad. Today, after the leaders of the Weatherunderground have already begun to recognize the error of their tactics, and the SLA is destroyed, the cult of violence still appeals to intellectuals who, seeing the evil America has done and continues to do, demand immediate and total change. Sometimes terrorist action is defended with the shallowest kind of Marxism–a hash of slogans thrown together as a substitute for serious analysis. Invariably it reflects our impatience. Pacifists are accused of being sentimental, of rejecting violence because we find it "distasteful." Yes, that is true, and we ought gladly plead guilty–we **do** find it appalling to splatter the brains of any woman, any man, on the grounds this is revolutionary necessity. But more is involved–much more. We are saying that the real lesson from Vietnam is not that armed struggle works, but that patience and long term political struggle is necessary. The Vietnamese used violence as their method for change. They stuck to it for 29 years of defeat until Saigon was finally liberated. Let us build an American movement committed to nonviolence, and prepared for 29 years of defeat in the knowledge that **basic** change comes slowly. "The impossible takes a little longer."

The Walk. I flew to Arizona to join the Walk for a few days. In **one minute** of jet travel my plane covered the distance the walkers make in an entire day of steady walking. In one day of easy driving a car can cover the ground from Phoenix to Albuquerque–a distance that has taken the walkers a month. A month of blisters, of sun, of snow, of going without showers, of sleeping on hard ground. And that is how change will come. At the pace of a walker. The media hasn't found us yet. You haven't seen the Walkers on the Johnny Carson show or the late night news. The revolu-

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tion will not be telecast. The revolution begins with putting one foot in front of another on a road which seems to lead endlessly into the desert, past rocks and stones and low grass. Past a tarantula poised by its hole. Past a rattlesnake curled and groggy with the cold.

And what does this accomplish? What does the walking change? If it isn't on the late news is it really happening? And the answer is one we should know. Where are the media heroes of yesterday, Rennie and Abbie and Jerry? Abbie Hoffman is in hiding. Rennie Davis is following a guru. Jerry Rubin is growing up at 37. If the Walk accomplishes nothing more than teaching patience, it will have taught us a crucial lesson. Anyone who feels that by walking from Ukiah to Washington they will have changed the world should not take one step on the Walk. Any person who feels that if they walk for a day, a week, a month, the FBI and CIA will crumble, should stay home—they have missed the point, they will be burned out. The Walk is a discipline. It is a difficult discipline and a hard lesson. I understand there has been resentment in some of the sponsoring organizations because I have suggested key staff persons join the Walk. I'm sorry—but I will press that point even harder in the weeks to come. The membership of **all** the sponsoring groups have a right to expect their staff to make time for a few days of walking. **If** we are truly serious about changing the social order, it won't be done by holding our generals safely in their offices. Social revolution is not a spectator sport.

The Walk is taking the issues of life and death into every community through which it passes. There are feeder routes all across the nation. There is a major and dramatic southern "wing" of the Walk which, like some neatly executed military pincer movement, will close from the South upon Washington while the West Coast route swings down from the North. And when we get to Washington? We will have reached only the end of the beginning. We will have said the "peace movement" is a movement for peace **and social justice.** We will have said openly, firmly, that while we do not have the power **yet**, that the CIA and the FBI should be on notice to stop us while they can, for we are moving and **some day**, not this year, not next year, but **some day** we shall have the power, based on popular consent rather than terrorist bombs, to move against the "security" forces that monitor our mail and phone and personal lives. We are saying "take our pictures while you can" because we are moving toward the day when the FBI building will be renamed the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Social Change, and the Pentagon becomes a National Health Center, and the CIA is dismantled so that not one dossier is left standing on top of another.

The Walk is a way of learning how slowly change comes. It is a way **of teaching our national staffs** that there is no such thing as "field work," a term which assumes that the people in Wichita, Austin, Globe, Madison, etc., are "in the field." Nonsense. The truth is that the offices in San Francisco and Philadelphia and Washington and New York are "in the field" and the **center** of change is right there in the small town, right down the block in the larger cities. And it is for this reason that people should join the Walk for no more than a handful of days. We salute those who carry the banner of peace and change from the West Coast and from New Orleans into Washington. But the real changes will not come in Washington but in the towns and cities of the nation. Let a hundred or a thousand people turn out in each city as the Walk goes through, to "vote" by joining the Walk for a block, a mile, a day. And then let the few long distance Walkers pass on to the next town. For the drama may be walking to Washington, but the hard work is at home.

To sum up: First, let us learn patience. The Walk will not, by itself, change anything. It will only **raise the issues and set the agenda** for change. If so limited an objective cannot command our support, then we learned nothing from the Vietnamese, nor from our ten years of struggle against four administrations. Second, let us realize the Walk is **not** a "peace walk" but a walk which links domestic and foreign policy, social change and disarmament, the struggle against war with the struggle against racism and sexism. Third, let us realize that the roots of change are not in national offices but in local communities. The best we can do nationally is help coordinate, maintain contact, provide services—but the power rests with the people, not the staffs. Fourth, let us know what we are doing and know it is serious. We do not want to "limit" the CIA but abolish it. We do not want to "control" the arms race but reverse it, knowing that the reality is not Reagan's paranoid vision of an arms race with Russia, but a race of all the peoples of the world against arms. Fifth, let us all know—including the long distance walkers—that while a serious movement needs leadership and discipline, in this struggle which will last so long there can be no leaders above the battle. Sixth and finally, let us not despair of nonviolence because it does not achieve instant results. A society—and a world—as sick as ours will not change swiftly. Marxists should remember what Marx taught about the slow process by which change comes. Pacifists should remember that the drama of the British withdrawal from India in 1947 was based on the endless defeats of the Ghandian movements from the 1920s on.

There is a postscript to all the above, neither more nor less important but separate from those six points. League members should know that every step of the way there are Japanese Buddhist monks walking with our people. They have come to this country at their own expense. Their commitment is not a casual one, but is rooted in the terror of war, the terror that Japan unleashed upon Korea and China and Pearl Harbor, the terror we unleashed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As our two nations at the highest levels waged war, so at the lowest levels the citizens of these two nations are waging peace. Governments make war. Only the people can make peace. Governments never reform themselves, only the people can reform them. The ties the War Resisters League has built up with the Japanese movement over the years bears this fruit of solidarity in action across the boundaries of nations, across the vast space of continents and oceans. The presence of our Japanese brothers confirms the powerful transnational links which will ultimately unite people everywhere against **any** government that gambles with the life of this planet by playing at the ancient game of war.

JULY FOURTH COALITION PLANS MASS RALLY IN PHILADELPHIA

Reminding Americans that there are two Americas, and that the Revolution is unfinished business, a July 4th Coalition has been formed and will sponsor a massive, peaceful rally in Philadelphia on July 4. People from throughout the nation—particularly from the East Coast—are expected to turn out by the tens of thousands for this dramatic affirmation of the revolutionary traditions of the country.

A National Board was elected at the March 28th National Conference, which was chaired by Norma Becker of WRL's Executive Committee. Among the nearly 75 persons elected to the National Board were: Norma Becker, Dave Dellinger, Saralee Hamilton, Don Luce, Rev. Paul Mayer, Dave McReynolds, Sid Peck, and Cora Weiss—all long associated with the peace movement. Others elected covered a range of organizations from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the trade union movement, the feminist movement, the American Indian Movement, several leaders of the black community, the New American Movement, etc.

On May 15th the National Board met to help set final plans for speakers, to raise funds, and arrange transportation. War Resisters League has endorsed the July 4th Coalition. Already there are 30 organizers on tour to explain and interpret the rally, which will occur at the same time as the "official" Bicentennial Rally in Philadelphia at which Ford is to speak. Care is being taken that the July 4th Coalition's mass rally not conflict with the "official" rally, but be seen as a creative alternative to it. The organizers feel it is urgent for Americans to remember the Revolution itself was born in an agony of confusion and contradictions, in which the colonies affirmed both freedom and slavery, declared their right to determine their own destiny free of England but denied that right to the Native Americans, and did not permit women to vote. The July 4th Coalition looks on 1776 as a beginning of a process which led in the 1860's to the abolition of slavery, led in 1920 to the granting of the vote to women, and which has not yet led to the end of an imperial policy.

The July 4th Coalition was built around a carefully drafted Call, issued in both Spanish and English, and titled "The American Revolution Continues." The three key points of the Coalition, which is attracting increasing support, are:

(1) A program that will begin to deal with the basic economic and social needs of the people of this country: full employment at decent wages; the right to organize representative, democratic and militant unions with full representation of women and oppressed nationalities and minorities in leadership, the right to collective bargaining, to equal pay for equal work, to strike.

(2) The right to food and housing at prices that we can afford, to quality education and health care and to welfare without humiliation; the right to the fullest political and social equality of women in all aspects of society; an end to all repression and repressive legislation, to the deportation of undocumented workers.

(3) An end to the current foreign policy of the U.S. government, to its colonial domination over Puerto Rico and the Native American nations, to its interventions in countries like Angola, to its overthrowing of governments like that of Chile, its subversive "intelligence" activities in virtually every country of the world, to its support—political, economic and military—of fascist regimes like those of Brazil and the Philippines or racist regimes like that of South Africa, to the constant intervention which has prevented stability and peace in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East.

For information on buses from Boston, New York, Washington, D.C., and for exact information on location, time, etc., in Philadelphia itself, contact: Alfredo Lopez, or Ro Reilly, National Staff, P.O. Box 205 Cooper Station, New York City 10003, 212/673-1776. We expect a large turnout of WRL members—we will all meet in Philadelphia on July 4th.

(Note: we understand that Jeremy Rifkin of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission has called a July 4th demonstration for Washington, D.C., but we have had no response to our inquiries and understand that PBC is not planning any speakers from the peace movement.

WRL's Executive Committee has endorsed the **Philadelphia** action.)

The Taxpayers Rebellion ... So Far

by Sybil Claiborne

Open any newspaper and another headline proclaims a speedup in the arms race—funds for the B-1 bomber, an expanded navy, new weapon systems. And as the madness and waste multiply, the indifference to the needs of the people grows deeper, more flagrant.

The very size of the federal budget makes it easy for the government to lie. The poor are told there is no money to fund their daycare, improve their housing. The middle class, angry at the heavy tax burden they must bear, are encouraged to blame the blacks or welfare. And in this election year the candidates talk only of tightening belts and biting bullets.

The Taxpayers Rebellion which grew out of discussions at the extended WRL executive committee meeting, is an educational campaign to counter some of these lies by making the connections between the military budget and the ways it damages people's lives.

Our first leaflet, which went out to the entire WRL list, focuses on the many illegal and immoral ways in which our money is spent without our approval and urges people to make their protest visible by mailing in the tear-off coupon or card to IRS and Congress. (Cards are still available, $1 per 100).

This leaflet was handed out at street corners and on a walk through the lower East Side organized by the City Crisis Coalition. Thousands were given out on April 15 at IRS buildings in New York, in Philadelphia and at other locations throughout the country.

Now we are preparing a second leaflet on the cutbacks in domestic programs. Primarily focused on New York, the leaflet addresses itself to groups fighting to save their school, their hospital, their daycare center. (If you are interested, send for a free copy.)

New York is seething. Nearly every day there is another sit-in, another demonstration, each group fighting for its life, its share in the dwindling pie. Our leaflet urges people to fight the military budget instead of fighting each other, linking the loss of their jobs, cutbacks in their schools or hospitals to the defense budget.

JULIUS EICHEL . . .

. . . (at left), the only American with the honorable record of imprisonment for war resistance in both world wars, received the WRL 1976 peace award at the League's annual dinner April 3 in New York City. Next to him, is his younger brother, Al, imprisoned during World War II and his son, Seymour, imprisoned for draft resistance in the mid-1950's. Not in the picture are his wife, Esther, who worked closely with him during his vigorous campaign on behalf of jailed World War II CO's, and Al's wife, Harriet. They all had been invited to step forward with Julius when he accepted the scroll.

The presentation speech was made by Randy Keeler, whose moving statement at the 1969 WRI Triennial on why he was going to jail in the Vietnam war, proved a key factor in bringing Daniel Ellsberg from the Establishment into the peace movement.

Thus, at the award presentation, in this bicentennial year, a maximum time-span of American war resistance was bridged. Julius, who marked his 80th birthday January 9 (a story about his birthday party appeared in last WRL NEWS), was a war resister jailed in World Wars I and II; Randy, in the Vietnam war.

In World War I, Julius was sentenced to 20 years, but the sentence was commuted at the war's end. In World War II, Julius was among 14 middle-aged men who refused to register for the draft. The other 13 were taken into custody for a day, registered by the authorities and then released. Julius came before a super-patriotic judge who jailed him and set bail at $25,000. It took a week for his friends to raise the bail. Subsequently, he went back to prison for a couple of weeks for noncooperation with registration procedures.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The 1976 WRL National Conference will be held August 11-14 at the Brandywine Hilltop Y Camp in Downingtown, Pa., 30 miles from Philadelphia. The theme this Bicentennial year will be "Another America"—alternatives for Americans as we enter our third century.

This year's conference is less expensive than those of previous years. Camping facilities are right on the grounds. The camp has a bed capacity of 200, and camping for 75. Register early while there is still room. If you have not already received the conference brochure and registration form, please write WRL for a copy.

DOROTHY RICK DEAD

Dorothy Rick, longtime WRL'er and one of its largest steady contributors over the years, died at her Peekskill, N.Y., home May 4 as a result of a third consecutive heart attack. She was 82.

WRL'ers JOIN CITY CRISIS PROTEST

On April 10 more than fifty people walked through Manhattan's Lower East Side to protest the cuts in the city budget and the massive military spending that had left this part of the city without funds for housing repairs or fire protection. In some blocks more than half the buildings had been burned out and abandoned. The walkers, more than half of them WRL'ers, carried signs in Spanish and English and distributed a tax leaflet written by Sybil Claiborne of the WRL Executive Committee, linking military spending to urban decay. The protest, organized by a coalition of groups including, in addition to the WRL, the Socialist Party, the New American Movement, and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. The demonstration got prime time on the evening news and in the Sunday **Times** with special mention of WRL—an idea other cities may want to copy.

DEMO SUPPORTS JAILED SPANISH CO's

Wearing T-shirts painted with "I, Too, Am A Conscientious Objector," pacifist pickets marched in front of Iberia Air Lines of Spain on April 2 protesting the arrest and imprisonment of seven Spanish CO's.

Prior to the demo, a deputation presented at the Spanish Mission to the UN a letter signed by 25 American clerics protesting the arrests and calling for observance of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Sponsored by WRL, FOR and CPF, the demo was part of a transnational campaign for freedom of conscience initiated by War Resisters International (WRI) and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR).